/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
239 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.); serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

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Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

412

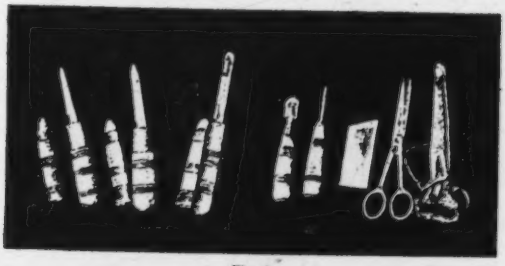

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

Fig. 5

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
25| kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[199] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

293
824
→

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596
462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical
233 criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of
immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions
has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[203] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[182] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh
[823] as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit
testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled
that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
53 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104). It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to
mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif
on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on
the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The
snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal
economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is
agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence
abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental
activities.

799 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the
Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
799 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy
Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/